

(1)  
VINIFICATION

H. B.  
Prerogative

*Humbly offered to the Consideration of the  
Honourable House of Commons.*

To Obey is no less Natural, Profitable  
and Necessary, than to Command.

*There's nothing more Hungry and Miserable than  
Covetousness, whose Greediness is provoked by  
the Things that are sought, and yet when they are  
obtained, they have no taste; for when they are  
possessed, they wax vile, so that while many a  
Man thinketh he hath gotten Wealth, he hath  
gained but Sorrow and Carefulness. Plutarch.*

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# VINDICATION

## OF THE

### Prerogative of the Crown.

**T**HE Inhabitants of this Isle, for many Ages past, were truly and justly accounted the happiest People or Nation in the Universe, by reason of its Situation, noble Ports, Shipping, &c. and the excellent Constitution of its Government, which no ways favours of the Harshness and Severity of Common-wealths, or the Slavery which usually attends absolute Power; but a Medium between two Extreams, giving the People as much Liberty as is consistent with Government, and the Sovereign as much Power as a good Prince can desire: And our Fathers were not unsensible of the great Happiness and Felicity which attended it; for they were as zealous in their Endeavours to preserve the Prerogative of the Crown, as they were to preserve the Liberties and Property of the People; and altho' great and bloody Wars happened in the Nation, which exceedingly exasperated the Spirits of Men, yet the prevailing Party, or Faction, could never, in Parliament, be tempted to break in upon the Constitution of the Government; the Subject then had no need or occasion to lay open any Publick Grievance in print, for at the first opening of a Session of Parliament, the House of Commons always appointed a Committee of Grievances, to hear and receive the Complaints of the People, and inspect into the Actions of Publick Ministers, (as well in Times of Peace as War) to see whether their Prince was not defrauded in his Revenue, or misled by evil Council, (the Parliament being the



great Council of the Nation ) the People oppressed, &c. and when soft and gentle Means would not do, they impeached Publick Ministers, and brought them to Justice, of which our Histories give large Testimonies. By these Means it was our Fathers preserved the Constitution of the Government for so many Ages past, in the midst of Storms and Tempests ; and if the Representatives of the People, in the Reign of King Charles the Second, had followed their Footsteps and taken Example by them, ( as the Nature of our Constitution, and the Law required ) the Nation had not now been in that languishing and distracted Condition it is in, or the Crown have lost the most valuable Part of its Prerogative, that is, *as things now stand, its not in Her Majesty's Power to exert Her Prerogative in defence of the Liberties and Property of Her People.*

*The Liberties of the People can never be preserved, but by the Prerogative of the Sovereign ; they are solid Felicities together, but empty Notions asunder ; for what is Prerogative, but a Name, when exercised over a free People ? And what is Privilege, but a fond Imagination, when not secured under a powerful King, that may keep us from being Slaves to one another ?*

*Miserable Experience hath taught us, that since Power hath been wrested from Princes, that neither they nor their People can be safe, if both be not in the Way. As the Law hath entrusted the Publick Safety and Welfare, which consists in a full Power, belonging to the King to secure Liberties, preserve Property, and protect their People in the enjoyment of the Fruits of their Industry, and the benefit of those Laws, to which themselves have consented.*

*Kings were instituted to aid good Men against the Wicked and ungodly, and to them was given Power to revenge Injuries, preserve Liberty and be Judge of each Man's Vertues and Vices.*

But before we proceed to prove this Assertion, there are many things to be considered and laid open. In the mean time it will be necessary to pass over in silence, or draw a Veil upon the Life and Reign of King Charles the First, who, without all Controversie or Flattery, was a pious and good Prince, yet very unhappy ; for by an armed Force he was murdered at his own Palace-Gate, in the Face of many Thousands of his Subjects,

King Charles the First being cut off by the Sword of Violence, to the great Surprise and Amazement of the *European* World, ( the Parliament having but a little before declared his Majesty's Concessions at the Isle of *Wight* were a just ground of Peace ) his Son, King Charles the Second, was forced to live as an Exile in foreign Parts, till the Year 1660, at which time he came to the Throne, to the great Joy and Satisfaction of the whole Kingdom, and under  
whole



whose Government the Nation flourished, and greatly improved its Trade ; but his Ministers, who had long resided in *France*, from thence took Measures how to corrupt the Constitution of the *English* Monarchy, which they unhappily effected, by introducing the leading Members of the House of Commons into Publick Employments, and giving Pensions to others, under Colour or Pretence of making the King easie with his People, when it was done only to serve their own sinister Ends, and prevent being impeached by the Commons, to which they knew they should be liable by the Measures they took ; the Consequence of which was fatal to this Nation, tho' the Evil arising from thence did not presently appear, being then in their Infancy, and the House of Commons too great and noble a Body to be corrupted at once ; but as Corruption took root, Evils increased, and at the late Revolution broke in upon the People like a Deluge, and through the Ambition and Avarice of some Men, hath continued ever since ; the Consequence of which brought the Emperor and Empire to the brink of Ruin, and has involved all *Europe* in a bloody, dangerous War, as will manifestly appear in the ensuing Discourse, in which we shall trace things from the death of King *Charles* the Second, down to this present Time, without espousing the Interest of any Party, and shew from whence our Divisions proceed. *It is impossible but that offences will come, but we unto him through whom they come.*

*Men in time of Health neither see nor feel their blind Infirmities, which in Sickness grieve and afflict them : So fares it with great States and Policies ; for when by such Accidents as pleaseth God to send, they come to be distempered, a number of sick and crazy Humours then break forth, which during the Health and flourishing Estate thereof were never perceived.*

To proceed : In the Year 1684, came to the Throne King *James* the Second, who was address'd and carest by the whole Kingdom, Persons of all Perswasions being then highly pleased with his Majesty's ascending the Throne, notwithstanding his Religion : He gave many Signs and Tokens of a good and just Prince, and in all probability would never have given the World occasion to think otherwise, if he had not been drawn away through evil Advice, ( of which many Protestants were notoriously guilty, witness the Judges, the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, &c. yet not one of them was ever punished, which leaves an evil Example to Posterity, as well in reference to the Crown as the People ) by adhering to which he lost the Affections of his People, and put the Nation upon a necessity of taking up Arms to preserve their Religion, Liberties and Property, and was also the occasion of the Descent made by the Prince of *Orange*,

and when the Convention met, the King being with-drawn, the Cause of the Revolution. But what shall we say? *A just Administration is a greater and better Security to a Prince, than all the Laws and Statutes in the World.*

But now before we proceed any further, it will be necessary to consider Matters that occurred from the time of the landing of the Prince of Orange, to about five or six Months after King William, ( then Prince of Orange ) came to the Throne; by so doing, we shall, or may see the Foundation of the People's Misery was premeditatedly laid, as soon, if not before the Revolution happened: The first publick or visible Step to which, was the Alarm that was given or made in the North in London, and most Parts of the Kingdom at one and the same time *the Irish are cutting the People's Throats*; a thing in it self altogether irrational, the *Irish* having before been broke, and disarmed, dispersed: However it fully answered the Ends and Design of those who contrived it, which was to terrifie and exasperate the Minds of the People, the better to fit and prepare them for War, without which they knew they could have no opportunity to fleece and shear them as they did all the time of the late Reign, without Mercy.

King William coming to the Throne in the Year 1689, it was then, it must be allowed, of the greatest Importance to the Safety and Well-being of this Nation, to secure Ireland,

*He that will England win,  
Must with Ireland first begin.*

In order thereto, Application with great Importunity was made to his Majesty, as well before as after he came to the Throne ) by the Protestant Gentlemen of that Kingdom, ( then in England ) who offered to send a small Army, they might be assisted with a few Men, and Ten thousand Pounds, and plainly made it appear it was practicable, and easy to be done, yet it availed nothing, but they, their Families and Estates were exposed to Ruin, and England it self to the greatest Jeopardy, to gratifie the Avarice of some Men; nothing being done therein till almost all was lost.

The same evil Measures were afterwards taken to prolong the War, as there had been to raise the War to a height; for it's evident we acted therein, that is, in prosecuting the War, contrary to the practice of our Fore-fathers, and all other Nations in the World, that were superior in Strength at Sea, as we were to the French; for they always invaded their Enemies Maritime Coasts, which we never did all the time of the late War, only sent General Talmasb to be made a Sacrifice at Camaret-Bay, as indeed he really and actually was, in being obliged to make one particular Port or Place, contrary to the known Rules and Practice of War; and then his Case was made use of as an



an Argument to convince the People of *England* it was an impracticable thing to invade the Maritime Coasts of *France*; the Fraud and Wickedness of which will notoriously appear, by what was acted and done in the Reign of King *Henry* the VIIIth, ( to look no further back ) in whose time, the World knows full well, *France* was far superior to *England* in Strength by Land, and the Emperor *Maximilian*, the King's Ally, in a weak and feeble Condition, yet he invaded *France*, ( when at the same time he had a *Scotch* War upon him ) and committed great Spoil upon the Maritime Coasts of *France*, by means whereof he soon obliged the *French* King to supplicate a Peace, which not without great difficulty he obtained, and articted to pay the King, for a certain number of Years, an annual Tribute, ( as he did *Henry* the Seventh ) which was every Year punctually paid, and at the same time great Sums of Money secretly given to the King's Ministers; in such fear and dread was the *French* King of the Naval Power of King *Henry* the VIIIth, who also had War with *France* in the time of the Emperour *Charles* the Fifth, some account of both which shall be given, ( done by another Hand ) by which it will be seen how much this Age and Nation has deviated and fallen from the Vertue of its Ancestors, and contributed to the present Greatness of the *French* King, and Calamities of *Europe*.

None was more watchful ( vide the Life of Sir *William Fitz-James*, in a Book intituled *State-Worthies*, licensed by Secretary *Morris*, 1670, and dedicated to the Gentry of *England*, out of which these Matters, in relation to Sea-Affairs are taken, as likewise those in reference to Proceedings at Law ) in the Wars between us and *France*; none so active in those between us and *Scotland* ~~where he~~ <sup>as Sir</sup> ~~ships he~~ gave Laws to the Narrow-Seas, as *Poyns* with ~~him~~ <sup>himself</sup> to the Main: There was not a serviceable Man belonging to him, but he knew him by Name, it being his Rule, *None fought well, but those that did it for a Fortune*. While he watched the Coasts of *France*, he discovered twelve *French* Ships, in which the Arch-Bishop of *Glasgow*, and divers others of Quality were, ( whom the Duke of *Albany* had sent before him into *Scotland* ) these he chased to a Shipwreck, and leaving a Squadron to shut up the *French* Havens, went along the *French* Coasts, landing in divers Places, wasting the Country till he came to *Treport*, a Town strongly situated and garrisoned with 3000 Men, which yet he took, and finding it not for his Interest to dwell there, pillag'd and burnt, going off with Success and Glory.

In the Household, he ( that is, Sir *Charles Sumerfet* ) was Lord Chamberlain, so discreet his Carriage; in the *French* Expedition, 1513, he was General, so noble his Conduct; his Assistants were the Earls of *Northumberland*, *Shrewsbury*, *Kent* and *Wiltshire*; his Followers,



lowers, the Lord Audley, Delaware, Carew, Curson, &c. Theravone he besieged in good order, and with *Wolsey's* Advice, who had long lived in the Town, understood all the Avenues of it, and with Sir ..... Oughtred, Sir Henry Guilford, Sir Edward Poinings, Sir Charles Brandon, and Sir Alexander Bainham's assistance, sprung several Mines, repulsed the French Relief, and the City Assaultants, so that the Town was yielded August the 22th, 1513, and upon Maximilian's Intreaty raised, as he did Tournay, September the 22th.

The Scots must have War as long as there's Poverty in their Country, and Interest in France. This noble Earl, ( vide the Life of the Seymours ) cutteth off the Invaders, layeth waste the Country, and ( that the Source of these Troubles might be dammed up ) entrench France with 80000 Men, and after some Skirmishes, brought the King thereof to a Peace and Submission.

Wanted he was ( that is, the Earl of Surry, then Governour of Ireland ) by the King, to scour the Narrow-Seas for the French War, so that he must have him: The King hath formerly made him Admiral; the Emperor, upon his Return, makes him his, and with both their Commissions Lands in Normandy; waists the adjacent Countries, ( sparing only religious Houses ) takes and sacks Morlaix in Brittain, ( which he entred under the Smoke ) burns their Ships, commands the Sea, and sets the Emperor safe in Spain, advising his Majesty to make a general Muster of his Subjects, for his own satisfaction, and others Terror. And shortly after returning to France again, won and burnt several Towns, and then returned to England with great Booty.

Sir Antony, ( that is Sir Antony Brown ) watched over our Neighbours Conquests, Approaches, &c. that none of these Potentates, Charles the Vth, or King Francis, could win a Spot of Ground but his Master would ballance it, and so secure Europe. We find our Knight with Charles Duke of Suffolk, Lieutenant General, Henry Fitz-alan, Earl of Arundel, Lord General William Paulet, Lord St. John, Stephen Bishop of Winchester, with a rich and strong Army expecting the King from Montrevil, ( which they took with Bologn ) and forcing the French to a Peace and Submission that secured England, and settled Europe.

The being Master of the Seas, ( says my Lord Bacon ) is an Abridgment of a Monarchy, &c. but thus much is certain, he that commands the Sea, may take as much and as little of the War as he will, whereas those that be strongest by Land, are many times, nevertheless, in great straits. Surely at this Day, with us of Europe, the vantage of being strongest at Sea, ( which is one of the principal Dowries of this Kingdom of Great Britain ) is great, because most of the Kingdoms of Europe

Europe are not meerly In-land, but girt with the Sea most part of their Compass, and because the Wealth of both Indies seems in great part but an accessory to the Command of the Seas.

Now its possible there might perish in the late War, one way or other, of *English, Dutch, French, &c.* 7 or 8 hundred thousand, it not a Million of Souls, the Lives of half which, in all human probability, might, or would have been saved, if the Representatives of the People of *England* had been faithful to the Crown. The Matter shall be fairly stated, and it will be found there's no wiping off the Stain and Guilt thereof. *The Kings of England have in their Hands the Power of Peace and War; may declare and prosecute a War, when and where they please; nominate and appoint Generals and Commanders, and all other Ministers and Officers, as well Civil as Military; the ministerial or executive Power being wholly in the King's Hand, by vertue of his sovereign Power and Authority.* Therefore it may be said, How could it possibly be in the Power of the Representatives of the People, to prevent an expensive, lingering and destructive War? In answer to which, we say, *The King of England* being engaged in War, by Proclamation calls a Parliament to consult with and advise for the better prosecuting of the War, as well as to procure Supplies, (the Proclamation says or intimates no less) the Parliament being called the great Council of the Nation, and was ever so accounted and acknowledged by the Kings of *England*. Now if the King thro' evil Advice shall be drawn into a War, Matter or Thing that is not for his Honour, and the Interest of the Nation, (as many a good Prince has been) it's then the Duty of his People in Parliament assembled, in humble manner to represent the same, and make him sensible thereof, (the Trust reposed in them makes it an incumbent Duty) and has been practised in all Ages, and of which many Instances, even a multitude, might be given; but we shall produce but one, which almost every body knows to be true: It was in the Reign of King *Charles the Second*, who in the Year 1672, by the Instigation of some evil Counsellors, declared War against the *Dutch*, when they were almost swallowed up by the *French*: The House of Commons thereupon represented the Matter to the King, shewing the ill Consequence thereof, and the danger of being in League with *France*, and prayed his Majesty would be pleased to make Peace with the *Dutch*; which was complied withal, and in deed could not well be avoided; for, *The disposition, as well as granting Money by Act of Parliament, hath ever been in the House of Commons*, the Commons from thence knew how to make use of the Power lodged in them, granted Supplies to the King for an actual War against *France*. So we may see the Power and Influence the Representatives of the

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People



People have in and upon the Government, has been a great Stay and Support to the Crown, and the chief or principal Cause of the long continuance of the Constitution of the Government, how much soever it has been abused since the Revolution, and converted into Faction:

*Even permission, in those things we may remedy, makes us no less Actors, than consent. Some Men kill as much by looking on, as others by smiting. War, as it is sometimes necessary, so it is always evil, and if Fighting have any other End proposed besides Peace, it proves Murder. God will as well condemn mighty Men and Magistrates for not preventing Evil in others, as for performing it in themselves.*

We must again return back to the beginning of the Reign of King William, that so there may be a coherence in the following Part of this Discourse, in which we shall say nothing in prejudice to any Person or Party, (for all Parties have been equally alike guilty of oppressing the People) and pay all due Honour and Respect to the Legislative Power, who, under God, are able to heal our Divisions, &c. and make us once more a happy Nation; they, and none but they can do it.

The coming of King William and Queen Mary to the Throne, soon dispersed the Dread and Fears the Nation lay under of being swallowed up by Popery and Arbitrary Power, and possessed the Minds of the People with great Hopes and Expectation of living securely, and happily under their Majesties Government; but, alas! they were wonderfully mistaken, and became a Prey to wicked and unreasonable Men: But the Evils which fell upon them were originally occasioned (as has been said) by Members of Parliament taking Publick Employments upon them in the time of King Charles the 1<sup>st</sup>. some Members of the House of Commons, in his Reign, having raised themselves thereby to vast Estates, and enjoyed the same in peace, not being censured or expelled the House for the same, (as they would have been in all the foregoing Ages, if not committed to the Tower, the Law having otherways provided for them, 23 Henry the 6<sup>th</sup>, Chap. 11. 35 of Henry the 8<sup>th</sup>, Chap. 11.) the Thoughts and Apprehension of which, at the Revolution, inflamed the Minds of a great many Gentlemen, with a violent Desire and Ambition to be Great, to which they knew, and saw by experience, they could attain with Impunity, if they could but get in to be Members of Parliament, which by corrupt Means they easily effected, and then soon workt themselves into Publick Employments; for it's notorious to the World, the majority of the House of Commons took Publick Employments upon them, or received Pensions from the Crown all the time of the late Reign; some Members had two, three, and four several Employments, yet the



the Nation was not sensible of the sad effects thereof for some Years; the People being then rich, and overjoyed at the Deliverance they had received: However, many Years did not pass, before great Corruption and Mismanagements broke out, and was by several Persons, for divers Years together, laid before the House of Commons. By which it evidently appeared, all the great Offices in the Government were notoriously guilty of Corruption and Mismanagement, yet the House took no notice thereof, as if those Matters had no ways concerned them: Nay, there was not so much as a Committee of Grievances, or Trade, (upon which the Revenues of a Prince, and the Power and Strength of a Nation depends) more than in name, all the time of the late Reign, but all things left to the Will and Pleasure of Publick Ministers, which, for the most part, were Members of Parliament, so they who acted in trust for the People, and from whom they derived their Power, became their Oppressors, by means whereof, many Members of Parliament, (and others who fell in with the Corruption of the Times) raised themselves to great and vast Estates.

*Above all things, (says my Lord Bacon) good Policy is to be used, that the Treasure and Moneys in a Nation be not gathered into few Hands, for otherwise a State may have a great Stock, and yet starve: Therefore the multiplying Nobility, and other Degrees of Quality, in an over-proportion to the common People, doth speedily bring a State to Necessity.*

And as Poverty increased in the Nation, so did Faction in the House of Commons, under Notion of the Church-Party and the Dissenting-Party, one Party continually striving to supplant the other, that is, throw one another out of Employment, which they frequently did, as they could severally make their interest with the People, without having any regard to past Crimes, or the Interest and Welfare of the People, who, between both, were ground, as it were, between two Mill-stones, and the King's Chief Ministers in no Condition or Capacity of relieving them, they being over-awed or ruled by Members of Parliament being concerned in the Ministerial or Executive Part of the Government, to which they had no legal or natural Right, as being Legislators, for by the Constitution of the Government, the executive Part thereof was, or ought to have been wholly in the King's Hand. So it's manifest it was not in his Majesty's power to protect the People, or punish Offenders: From whence we may judge, what a miserable Condition they were in, who in service to their Country, laid open publick Crimes and Offences, many of which and of the greatest Importance to the Safety and Well being of the Nation, was proved by the King's own Order, and nothing of any moment, but what was laid before his Majesty, and..

and offered to be proved before him, yet not one of those Persons escaped ruin; nay, even those who did the Crown and Nation exemplary Service, and of which Posterity will reap the Advantage, were illegally treated, and rendred to the World Fools and Madmen, insomuch as they became common Objects of Scorn and Contempt, and remain so to this Day; so mighty is Vice, when armed with Authority, and hath a powerful Example to countenance it; *but Truth is justified of her Children.*

*As in God, so in his Deputies, Mercy and Justice (says Bishop Hall) should be inseperable; wheresoever these two go asunder, Government follows them into Distraction, and ends in Ruin.*

‘ We of this happy Nation have certainly the best Constitution in the World, the Sovereignty of the Prince; the Rights of the Nobility; the Liberties of the People, all so ballanced and bearing up one another, that no Government on this side Heaven can be more wisely contrived, *while it stands on it's true Ballance.*

‘ But as in a curious Watch, the variety of exact Motions, while it is kept in order, serve admirably to guide and assist each other; whereas if any one stops, or hurries on too fast, this is apt to carry all the rest into confusion; so, in our exquisite Frame of Government, it is the strict Union and Correspondence of the Parts that must direct and support the Whole: If a Member suffers, the whole Body suffers with it, or if Head and Members affect to leave their own place, and usurp a Station not designed for them, this turns the Body into a new kind of Monster.

This violation of the Constitution of the Government, it's easie to conjecture, must needs have a fatal Consequence, as we see and find it had; for almost all the remaining part of the Crown-Lands ( which was great ) were given away in the late Reign, and more Money levied upon the Subject, than had been legally raised in 500 Years before, and the Nation miserably plunged in Debt to boot, which made things fall very heavy upon the trading Part of the Nation, ( of which infinite Numbers were reduced to Poverty, and the Trade of the Kingdom almost ruined; the Money that used to circulate in Trade being gotten into Banks, for which the Nation pays extravagant Interest ) yet things did not fall so very severe upon them, as upon the poor Sailers, one of the great Bulwarks of the Nation; for more Sailers were destroyed by ill Usage, or constrained to leave their native Soil, than would now have served to Man the Royal-Navy almost twice over. An Action so barbarous and impolitick, as not to be parallel'd in History: The same Fate had our Shipping, the other great Bulwark of the Nation, for we lost, by evil Conduct and Management, an unspeakable Number of Merchant-men, and more Men of War than there are now in the Kingdom. Therefore it seems



seems strange, a free People, as we legally are, should be so infatuated, as not to be sensible of these things, no notice having been taken thereof, or any body so much as checkt for the same; which looks as if the People of *England* had lost their Humanity and Reason together; the more, in regard we had, in the late Reign, several Parliaments call'd, by which the Nation had divers opportunities to have redressed these Evils. *There is Mercy and Care due to the most despicable Piece of Humanity, wherein we cannot be wanting, without the offence, without the punishment of God.*

But whoever duly considers the Circumstance of Affairs in this Nation, since the Restauration of King *Charles* the II<sup>d</sup>, will find the Gentlemen of *England*, ( who influence and govern the People, and for many Ages were the Glory of the Nation, and great Bulwark of the Liberties of the People ) have, generally speaking, all along abetted this Corruption in the State, and been interested therein. *Eloquence and Riches, the two Means by which, those that were in Credit and Authority, did carry the People even as they would.* Plutarch. An Evil which they at first were insensibly led or drawn into by King *Charles* the II<sup>d</sup>'s Ministers, who having corrupted the Representatives of the People, took the liberty then to sell all Offices, Places, and Employments in their Gift, contrary to Law, 20 *Ed.* III. 12 *Rich.* II<sup>d</sup>. Ch. 2d. 2 *Hen.* VI. Ch. 10. 5 and 6 *Ed.* VI. Ch. 16. by which Means they sent all the King's Friends a begging, who had lost their Estates, and been ruined in the Civil War, and by degrees corrupted all the chief Magistrates and Offices in the Government, that is to say, the whole Body and Frame of the Government, so at last it grew to be, as now it is, a *National Crime*, and no Man can say he's Innocent, for there's not a Gentleman in the Kingdom, ( generally speaking, as we said before ) but either has been, are, or expect to be employed and advanced, and to make their Fortunes in Publick Employments, under this corrupt Management, ( of which they know there would soon be an end, if Members of Parliament were debarred Publick Employments ) or otherwise hope to reap advantage thereby, in being Counsellors at Law, Attornies, &c. Tho' not one in 40 of them, one with another, ever attain their Ends; yet the vast Estates some Men get by these unlawful Means, violently pushes others on to the same Measures, and makes them mortal Enemies to all that endeavour to obstruct them in their Course, in which they all, as one Man, seek and pursue their own and Country's Ruin, that is, consequently, as an *Epicure* does, who indulges himself, and digs his own Grave: We shall prove it (briefly) to be a general Corruption, and National Sin, so far forth as every Man, in his own Conscience, must acknowledge and allow it to be true; for, *in vain shall a Man's Heart absolve him, who is condemned by his Actions.*

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We shall begin with Matters in reference to the Judges, whom we will suppose and allow to have done every Man Justice, ( as to *Meum* and *Tuum* ) at the end or issue of a Cause; nevertheless, they have been guilty of horrible Oppression, by keeping or suffering Causes to continue many Years on foot, going from Court to Court, from Common-Law to Chancery, 3, 4, 5, 6, 8, 10, 20 Years together, &c. by means of which there are few Gentlemen in the Kingdom, but what have some time or other deeply suffered by it, and a multitude of good Families totally ruined thereby.

If we go to the *Marshal's-Court*, &c. we shall find nothing but Corruption, and a multitude of the poorer Sort of People made extremely miserable, and is matter of great Lamentation, having been often publicly complained of many Years to no purpose, notwithstanding it brings almost an insupportable Charge upon the Out Parishes of this populous City.

If we look into the City, the Metropolis of the Kingdom, we shall find things there as corrupt as in any part of the Government. There's a great many Employments in the Gift of the Lord Mayor and Sheriffs, which they sell as they fall, ( as the Judges, &c. do ) and amount to above 180000 *l.* when at the same time there's sufficient provision made to maintain the Grandeur of the Lord Mayor and Sheriffs, who are sworn to observe the Laws of the Land, and to their Power to preserve the Privileges of the City, and do every Man right: How well they perform that Oath, we must leave God and the World to judge; there are, it may be, as many Employments in the City, in reference to Justice, ( setting aside the horrible Oppression in reference to the Markets, and the poor Orphans ) which they sell, and amount to about 90000 *l.* the consequence of which, any Man may judge, must needs have been the ruin of a great many Families; and no doubt, for the most part, the cause of the death of so many Persons as commonly and frequently die in the *Compters*, the Guilt of which, or any part thereof, cannot properly lie at the door of the Officers, that buy their Places, let them be never so wicked, for they are actually no other but Instruments in the Hands of the Lord Mayor and Sheriffs, who together with the Judges, &c. are accountable to God, and should be so to Man, for all the Violence and Oppression acted by their Officers, and others, who buy Offices, Places and Employments of them, as being the first and immediate Cause thereof. So we may see there's no occasion at all of making such a mighty enquiry after the Cause of the great decay of Christian Piety, and Corruption of Manners, so much, and so justly complained of, and that, *if this Nation be ruined, the Gentlemen of England will be found guilty of Felo de se, in effect, as much as he that destroys himself, in being, by their Immorality and Injustice, the Authors of their own ruin.*

No Brute, or savage Beast, is so cruel as Man, if with his Licentiousness, he have liberty to execute his Will. Plutarch.

\* Twice were all Causes in Chancery dispatched in Sir Thomas *Wriotsley's* time, 1538. And in Sir Thomas *More's*, 1532, my Lord hearing a Servant putting off a Petitioner, because his Master was not at leisure, takes him up roundly, and replies, *You had as good say I am not at leisure to be Lord Chancellor..... To honest Men your Places* (said he) *are enough, to Knaves too much.*

\* No Prince so unhappy in his Priests than King Henry, (that is, Henry the VIIIth) none more happy in his Judges..... among whom, none more renowned than Sir *John Fitz-James*, who was so very fearful of the very Shadow of Corruption, that it cost his chief Clerk his Place, but for taking a Tankard, after a signal Cause of 1500 l. a Year, wherein he had been serviceable, tho' not as a Bribe, but as a Civility..... The same Day there was no Cause to be tried in the Chancery in Sir Thomas *More's* time; there was but three in the King's-Bench in Sir *John Fitz-James's* time; the reason whereof, some imagine, was Cardinal *Wolsey's* extraordinary Power; others know it was the Judge's Integrity, who was too honest to allow, as that Age was too plain to contrive Delays and Obstructions.

The Emperor *Alexander Severus*, (a Heathen) never suffered Offices and Estates of Magistrates to be sold; For, said he, necessarily, he that buyeth, selleth; and if I suffer any Man to buy an Office, I cannot condemn him when he selleth. In the election of Counsellors and Magistrates, he did ever suspect such as sought for Offices, and held them for ambitious and dangerous Persons. *Trajan, Adrian*, the *Antonies*, and other Roman Emperors, that were Heathens, gave audience to their Subjects, and administered Justice to them: The Character given of the Reign of *Septimus Severus*, and of *Alexander*, the Son of *Mammaea*, is, That they were both of them severe Protectors of Justice, and sworn Enemies to all Thieves, publick, private, known or secret; and to all People that behaved themselves ill, and were unfaithful in their Offices, they made exact and strict search after them, and severely punished them: And our own Histories produce many and great Instances of exemplary Justice having been done, by the Kings of England, as well upon Judges, as others, for violating the Law, and oppressing the People.

\* Justice is the only Band of all Society among Men, which if that once decay, and be not rightly executed, what can Men look for, but Confusion, Disorder, Oppression, and all other Violence and Outrage besides?

King *William* being all his Reign perpetually disturbed with the Heat of Faction, or Animosity of Parties in the House of Commons, and



and continual Application of his People for Justice, that what with one and the other, he was so afflicted, that, no doubt, it produced in him those Distempers which put a period to his Life the 8th of *March*, 1702, at which time Her present Majesty Queen *Ann* came to the Throne, to the great Joy, and unspeakable Satisfaction of the whole Kingdom. And considering the manifold Miscarriages and Crimes committed in the late Reign, and loudly and justly complained of in Parliament in this, it was from thence hoped, upon change of the Ministry, some Measures would be taken to ease the People, ( who were even eat up by the multiplicity of Officers ) by lessning the number of the Commissioners of the Navy, &c. which was done in the Treasury, for now we see One Noble Lord, instead of Five, executes the Office of Lord High-Treasurer of *England* with great Honour: Yet his Lordship's Integrity and Justice seems to have been made use of only as a Blind to deceive the People, for in all other respects, the evil and unhappy Measures taken in the late Reign, have been pursued in this, and even heavier Burdens laid upon the People than there were before, by divers great and unnecessary Offices being erected, to the great Charge of the Publick, and prejudice of Her Majesty's Service: Therefore, ' whatever the Beginning of Factions are, the Consequence are the same, ' and the Ends too of those who chiefly engaged in them; which is to ' act the same Part in different Masks, and to pursue private Passions ' or Interests, under publick Pretences." But the greatest Evil of all and that which has brought great and unspeakable Calamities upon *Europe*, has been the manner of prosecuting the War; in which such Measures have been taken, through Ambition and Avarice, as if there had been a real Design to ruin the Nation; such was the Expedition to *Cales*; the Voyage of Sir *Cloudestly Shovel* into the *Streights*, &c. and the cause or occasion of the loss of much Shipping, and great numbers of Sailors and Soldiers, which, according to the Practice of other Nations, and the Opinion of all wise and rational Men in the World, should have been employed against the Maritime Coasts of *France*, which lie contiguous to *England*, and extend Five or Six hundred Miles in length.

The *Romans* being greatly oppressed by *Hannibal* the *Carthaginian* General; equipt a Fleet, and sent *Scipio* with an Army to invade *Africk*, which he did, and soon oblig'd *Hannibal* to leave *Italy*, to defend his own Country, and by that very Expedition, laid the Foundation of the ruin of *Carthage*, and the future Greatness of the *Roman* State.

The *Morea*, ( which is 150 Miles broad, and 175 Miles long, and by a small Neck of Land divided from *Greece* ) was, by the *Venetians*, not many Years since, wrested out of the Hands of the *Turks*, ( who were infinitely too strong for them by Land ) meerly by virtue of being strongest at Sea, and of which they are in possession to this Day.

Therefore



Therefore if the People of *England*, in Parliament assembled, had provided a Fund for carrying on, or making a Descent upon the Maritime Coasts of *France*, with but half the Quota of Troops shipt for *Holland*, the second Year after this War broke out, it's plain it would have done the *French* King more Injury ( so it had been faithfully managed ) then 200000 Men in lieu or stead thereof, could have done him in *Germany*, *Italy*, or the *Netherlands*, and broke and confounded all his Measures; for it would absolutely have over awed the Elector of *Bavaria*, if not the *Hungarians*, and totally disabled the *French* King sending any Forces into *Italy* or *Germany*; no Prince that hath large Maritime Coasts, being able to defend himself against so great a Body of Troops, backt by a strong Fleet. and powerful Armies by Land: So that *France* it self must inevitably have been the Seat of War, and thereby all those Calamities would have been prevented, which has since fallen upon *Germany* and *Italy*, and even upon this Nation, by the Treasure of the Kingdom being consumed and exhausted to support the Allies. ' *Portugal* and *Savoy* are two Allies of the ' greatest Consequence to us, who have no Strength to resist the Force ' that will be poured in upon them, but as they hope to be supported by ' the Treasure, the Fleet, and the Assistance of *England*, " and *Europe* involv'd in a lingering, expensive, bloody, dangerous War; for notwithstanding the great Efforts, and glorious Actions of his Grace the Duke of *Marlborough*, we see the Elector of *Bavaria* is not reduced, and *France* it self not touched, but the Emperor's, and the Duke of *Savoy*'s Territories and Affairs in a bad Condition; when it's plain, by the preceeding Matter, it was, ( and is under God ) in *England*'s Power, ( in conjunction with the Allies ) to carry the War into the Bowels of *France*, and to compell the *Poles* and *Swedes* to a Peace, as we did the *Swedes* and *Danes*. And no doubt the *French* King will now make his utmost Effort to retrieve the great Loss he sustained in the late Battle of *Hochstet*; and if the *Port* breaks with the Emperor, ( which is much to be feared ) what a miserable Condition will *Germany*, and even all *Europe* be in? As to our beating the *French* in the *Streights*, we have little reason to boast, more than of the Courage and Bravery of our Men; for if in the Action we had been beat, we had been liable to ruin, of which we were in great danger, the Enemy having more and greater Ships than we, besides 25 Gallies, which in those Seas are of great use; and if the *French* had been but sensible of our want of Ammunition, we should most certainly have been beaten, and forced to have made to *Gibraltar*, where we should have wanted every thing, and in a little time been besieged by Sea and Land, and in danger of losing our whole Fleet. Whereas, had our Fleet, with the *Dutch* Squadron, been upon the Coasts of *Normandy*, *Britain*, &c. we should

E have

have been in no such danger ; for all our first and second Rate Men of War, would, or might have been there, and could not have wanted Ammunition, ( as we did when we beat the *French* in the *Streights*, and lay by, as they say, to fight them again ) Provision, or Men, but have returned in due time into Port with safety, for then the *French* durst not have appeared with their Fleet in the Ocean, ( where their Gallies are of no use ) whereby, with the Troops shipt for *Portugal*, ( which together with the Forces in *Savoy*, have done nothing but spent the Nation's Money, and helpt to prolong the War ) we should have been at liberty to ravage the Maritime Coasts of *France* ; ruined the Enemy's Trade and Shipping ; kept our Money at home, and raised vast Contributions, which the *French* King could by no means have prevented, but must have been forced to sue for Peace ; this is so plain and obvious a Truth, no Man can deny. Yet this very War, our Fleet has been sent to the Coasts of *Spain* three Years together successively, at near 80000 *l.* a Month charge to the Nation, all being calculated to prolong the War, which the taking of *Gibraltar* contributes to, and shews the World, we could have taken Towns upon the Coasts of *France* if we had pleased, and kept them too, and not have sent our Fleet 1500 Miles from our own Coasts, to have done it, as we did when we took *Gibraltar* : However, to censure and condemn the Queen's Ministers for these things, is, rendring them to be guilty of that which is a *National Crime* : ' That is, the Governors, who are ' few, will ever be forced to follow the Strength of the Governed, who ' are many, be they People or Armies by which they govern.

*As every Man is a Limb of the Community, so must he be affected with the State of the universal Body, ( says Bishop Hall ) whether healthful or languishing, and common Dangers and Calamities must, ( like the rapid Motion ) carry our Hearts contrary to the ways of our private Occasions.* Nevertheless, the freedom of Speech used in this Discourse, may, in the Opinion of some Persons, expose the Author to danger ; yet if any think so, they are mistaken, so far, that the Author exposes not himself to any danger, more than what all Men voluntarily expose their Lives unto, as we may say, every Day in the Week, in attempting to save the Lives of others, in case of Fire ; in danger of being drowned ; robbed, and a thousand other Accidents, and Things, which daily occur ; and this we see Nature prompts every Man to, inasmuch, that we look upon him to be a very unnatural Person, who does not expose his Life to the greatest hazard, to save the Life of a Child, so long as he sees any hopes or prospect of preserving his own Life : Therefore if Men, nay Women, shall expose their Lives ( as many do ) to the greatest Jeopardy, to save the Life of one single Person, how much more ought we to expose our Lives in the Service of our Country,



try, in which every Man's Life, Interest, and Welfare is concerned ? And seeing we all owe a Debt to Nature, which must be paid, and every Man give an account of his works done in the flesh, whether they be good or evil, why should any Man be afraid to vindicate the municipal Laws of his Country, to which he has a natural Right ? To proceed :

There are Four great Ennemies and Plagues to Mankind, Pride, Covetousness, Faction, and Ambition, and are all one and the same thing, when they meet or centre in popular and ambitious Men, and have been the overthrow of all the great Empires, Kingdoms and States that have been in the World, and so were ever equally detested and abhorred by all good Men, as well Heathens as Christians : And why we should expect a better Fate, who sin against a greater Light and Knowledge than other Nations have done, no reason can be given.

\* Ambition is, and always hath been, the Cause of all Calamities and Inconveniencies in all Kingdoms and Common-Wealths, as breeding not only danger and destruction to the Person that is infected therewith, but bringeth also Damage and Detriment to the People that are afflicted therewith.

\* Faction is one of those Sins, whereof the Authors most commonly repent themselves, and of which their Posterity are always ashamed.

Ambition, ( says a Heathen ) is an unjust Goddes, or rather, a wicked Fiend, because into what House or City soever it entreth, were it never so happy and flourishing, it never cometh out without the destruction of all those she layeth hold upon. Therefore *Plato* calleth it, a Thing that will fall out contrary to our Expectation, and worse than we wish or would ; as causing Misfortune, when we look for Felicity ; and Adversity, when we hope for Prosperity : Whereupon also *Aristotle* sayeth, That all Wrong and Injuries are caused through Ambition and Avarice. But to proceed :

The Calamities of *Europe*, and the great Power and Strength of the *French* King, Mankind would conceive, should move and affect the Spirits of Men so far, as to make them sensible of their own Danger ; yet we see they make little or no Impression upon the Minds of those who are more immediately concerned therein ; for there is now as much struggling and contending among Members of Parliament for Employments as ever ; some Members have at this time, two, three, or four several Employments ; and so long as the House admits this Practice, the Nation has reason to conclude, the Majority of the House of Commons are in Publick Employments, or live in expectation thereof ; and that the Heat and Animosities in the Government, about Religion, and the corrupt and drunken Practices used in and about the Peoples chusing their Representatives, proceeds from Members of Parliament continually struggling and contending for Employments : Indeed,

deed, how can any rational Man believe otherways, 9 parts in 10, ( if not 19 in 20 ) of the Representatives of the People having all along been Members of the Church of *England*, and publickly known so to be, as most of the Gentlemen of *England* are; by which it's evident, the *Dissenters* are not Principals, but Accessaries in the Contest; the Notion, or Names of Distinction of *Church-Party* and *Dissenting-Party*, or *High-Church* and *Low-Church*, having been taken up and made use of, only as a Cloak to cover and hide the Avarice and Ambition of great and popular Men, and *Religion made a Stalking-Horse to Policy*: No notice at all having been taken of the corrupt and male Administration of either Party, after their being outed of Employments, more than to make one another odious to the People, in which both Parties charge on another with Matters or Things of a heinous Nature, that are not true in Fact; and Pamphlets daily published on both Sides, animating and exciting the People one against another, to the great Scandal of Religion, and Dishonour of the Nation, *it being all nothing but a struggle among the Gentlemen of England, who should ride the People*; and who, as it were by Consent or Agreement on both Sides, use all possible Arts and Means to cover and hide the horrible Corruptions and Mismanagement in the Government; ( the Addresses lately presented to Her Majesty from all Parts of the Kingdom, sufficiently proves it ) in which they act ( not in Principle, but in Practice ) like the Church of *Rome*, lose all, and ruin themselves, rather than part with their Corruptions: But God works Good out of Evil; for if there were no Violence and Oppression, there would be no such thing as Justice in the World; and, *when a People or Nation persist in their evil Ways, God raises up Instruments to punish them.*

When Queen *Elizabeth* came to the Crown, one third, if not half the People of *England* were *Roman Catholicks*, yet she gave them by Proclamation, ( with the Approbation of the House of Commons ) the free and open exercise of their Religion, and was very indulgent to the Nobility that were Members of the Church of *Rome*. By means whereof, she preserved the Peace of the Kingdom, strengthened the Church of *England*, and overthrew the papal Interest in the Nation; three, if not four Parts in five of the *Roman Catholicks*, in a few Years, coming over to the Church of *England*; a thing which violent Means could never have brought about.

So it's plain, *the Church of England is in no danger upon account of Religion*, ( as some Persons of great Honour and Worth apprehend ) but from the Corruptions in the State: it being evident, the main Bulk or Body of the People, are, of themselves, naturally inclined to be peaceable, let them be of what Perswasion they will; and not capable of disturbing the Publick Peace, but as they are moved and aggitated by



by popular and ambitious Men, as the Sea is by the Wind : Therefore our greatest Enemies, even Satan himself, could not have found out, or invented any thing so pernicious and destructive to *England*, as that of introducing Members of Parliament into Publick Employments; for it obstructs the Course of Justice, prolongs the War, keeps the Nation in a continual Faction, and gives some Men an opportunity to defraud the Publick, and sets them out of the reach of the Law ; which beggars the People, and makes them ripe for any Mischief popular and ambitious Men shall prompt them to : So it's a Matter of as dangerous Consequence to the State, as a Distemper is to a Man which lies in his Head, and by Degrees destroys his Sight and Understanding.

*Man's Nature prickt forward with Covetousness, is quite blind, and without Reason, Plutarch.* Therefore we may conclude, and say, *As things now stand, it's not in Her Majesty's Power to exert Her Prerogative in defence of the Liberties and Property of Her People.*

'Connivance at the Outrages of the Mighty, cuts the Sinews of any State," says Bishop Hall; that is, where there is no Punishment, consequently there's no Property : And a Kingdom or Church divided against it self, ( as the Church of *England* is ) cannot stand.

*Where the Almighty purposes the Destruction of any People, he needs not call in foreign Powers ; he needs not any Hands or Weapons but their own ; he can make vast Bodies die no other death than their own Weight ; we cannot be sure to be Friends among our selves, whilst God is our Enemy,* says Bishop Hall, who lived himself to see these Sayings of his in great measure verified in our Intestine Broils, which began in the North ; and the Scots ( who are angry, and as some Persons say, not without Cause ) having now different Sentiments from us, it shews they are govern'd ( as all the World is ) by Interest, and portends a Civil War, which is one of the greatest Judgments can fall upon a Nation, and which is now, under God, in *England's* Power to prevent, and settle Matters so, as that it will be morally impossible for the Nation to swerve from its true Interest ; for the Gentlemen of *England* would then have a true Sense and Notion of things : Moreover, there's a possibility the several Inhabitants of this Isle may all become or made one People, which if that should take effect, no foreign Power then can disturb *England's* Peace, much less ruin us ; " for our Nation is too great and too brave ' to be ruined by any but it self ; " in the mean time, we are, thro' our Divisions, in great danger.

'A weak, or unequal Faction, in any State, may serve, perhaps, to enliven or animate the Vigour of a Government ; but when it proves equal, or near proportioned in Strength or Number, and irreconcilable by the Animosity of Parties, it cannot end without some violent

\* Crisis and Convulsion of the State, and hardly without some new  
 \* Revolution, and perhaps final ruin of the Government, in Case a  
 \* foreign Invasion enters upon the Breaches of Civil Distractions.

Therefore it's humbly hoped, the Legislative Power will find out some Way or Means to put an end to these unnatural and destructive Divisions, &c. which, with submission, we conceive, may be done, as we said before, to the satisfaction of all Parties; the Animosities in the Nation, among Persons of all Degrees, being, it's manifest, owing to the Corruptions in the State, and not to Religion, or the Humours and Tempers of Men.

*There's no human thing more certain than Adversity; none more convenient to discuss and decipher Errors.*

Solon being asked how the Common-Weal might be preserved, answered, *If the People obey the Magistrate, and the Magistrate obey the Law.* Licurgus being demanded by his Country-men, the Lacedaemonians, by what means they might expel the violent Innovations and Inroads of their Enemies, answered, *If you will live (said he) in Amity among your selves, and avoid all mutual Strife and Contention.*

\* The Minds of great Men, much honoured in State, must be reconciled, for the Discord of mighty Personages, draws the whole  
 \* Common-Wealth; and of small Beginnings, most miserable Events  
 \* do follow." For as Kingdoms have their beginnings, so have they, as well as Men, their climacterical and dangerous Years, and as things now stand, much cannot be expected from the Clergy, or Gentlemen professing the Law, under such Contempt and Discouragement; but the Great and the Honourable have it in their Power to do great things, things worthy of themselves, and for the advancement of God's Glory. Therefore now we shall in brief Heads offer such Matter, as may, with submission, we conceive, conduce and be effectual towards reconciling the Minds of the People, and stablishing the Peace of the Kingdom.

When King Henry the VIIIth seized Abby-Lands, &c. he distributed them among the Nobility and Gentry, and confirmed them in the possession thereof by Act of Parliament, by means whereof he overthrew the Pope's Supremacy, (here in England) and preserved the Peace of this Kingdom, which otherways he could not have done; and when Queen Mary came to the Throne, she found it was not in her Power to overthrow the Settlement, the Roman Catholicks themselves being averse to it. So now considering almost all the Crown-Lands were alienated, or given away in the three last Reigns; and it being found impracticable, or, at present, not safe to recall them, there being the same Reason to assume those given away in King Charles's time, as there is to recall those given away in the late Reign, and other



ther Provision being made for support of the Civil List, with submission, we conceive, it would be of great Importance towards preserving the Peace of the Kingdom, to confirm those Grants by Act of Parliament, to the several Persons interested therein, rather than leave them in possession thereof, under a dubious and precarious Title, ( as now they are ) which may some time or other be called in question, and of which they will always live in fear.

By a male Administration, Persons of all Parties have contracted a great deal of Guilt; it has been so general, that it's now become an epidemical Disease; but to let things remain as they are, and not take care to prevent the like Evils for time to come, is to approve of and abett the spilling of all the Innocent Blood that has been shed in the Nation, through Oppression, since the Revolution, and exposing the Government to ruin: To prevent which, it will, with submission, we conceive, be absolutely necessary, towards restoring publick Justice, to make, or grant, a general Act of Indemnity, ( exempting such as have imprest Money in their Hands, &c. as to the Wisdom of the Government shall seem meet ) and leave Offenders to be judged at the great Tribunal of Heaven.

*It's much more glorious, and better, to forgive Injuries, than to revenge them, Plutarch.*

The selling of Employments, is ruinous to Trade; detrimental to the Gentry; dishonourable to the Crown, and by which the Crown reaps no advantage; makes all things mercenary, and the People Slaves to their fellow Subjects, and tends to the rooting out of the Minds of Men, all true Principles of Vertue and Honour: Therefore to prevent the Evil and Milchiefs proceeding from thence for time to come, it would, without all dispute, much conduce to the Honour and Welfare of the Nation, if an Act of Parliament were passed, That no Person whatever, shall take possession of his Office, Place, &c. till he have taken an Oath in the same manner the Clergy do, ( to prevent Simony ) before they are permitted to enter upon a Living, there being as much reason to keep the Subject out of rapacious Hands, as there is to keep Corruption out of the Church; and that no Person, upon severe Penalties, presume to sell any Office, Place, or Employment in their Gift, due regard being first had to the Judges, ( by doubling, as we may suppose, their Salaries ) and to those who bought their Employments, as to the Wisdom of the Government shall seem meet and requisite.

Members of Parliament taking Publick Employments and Pensions, being the Source or Fountain from whence all our National Evils have sprung, and that which supports and upholds the corrupt and male Administration in the Government, and tends to the final overthrow

throw of the State ; which, the only way in this Case to prevent, is, or will be, by passing an Act of Parliament, That no Person, but a Privy Counsellor, shall be returned a Member for any County, &c. till he has publickly taken an Oath, ( drawn into due Form ) before the Sheriff, &c. and subscribe the same, that he is in no Publick Employment, and will take no Publick Employment or Pension from the Crown, directly or indirectly, during his being a Member of Parliament, unless at the same time he be a Privy Counsellor ; and if any Sheriff, &c. shall make a return before such Oath be made and subscribed, to be fined, and for ever made incapable of serving in any Publick Office or Place whatever: And also that farther provision, proportionable to the Times, be made for such Gentlemen as serve their Country in Parliament, according to ancient usage, and Acts of Parliament still in being, to enforce the payment thereof.

• The first Safety of Princes and States ( says Sir *William Temple*, speaking of Popular Discontents ) lies, in avoiding all Counsels and Designs of Innovation in ancient and established Forms and Laws, especially those concerning Liberty, Property, and Religion, ( which are the Possessions Men will ever have most at Heart ) and thereby leaving the Channel of known and common Justice clear and undisturbed.

• The second, In pursuing the true and common Interest of the Nation they govern, &c.

• The third is, The countenancing and introducing, as far as is possible, the Customs and Habits of Industry and Parcimony in the Countries they govern ; for frugal and industrious Men, are usually safe and friendly to the established Government, as the idle and expensive are dangerous from their Humours or Necessities.

• The last consists, In preventing Dangers from abroad ; for foreign Dangers raise Fears at home, and Fears at home, among the People, raise Jealousies of the Prince or State, and give them ill Opinions, either of their Abilities, or their good Intentions.



